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ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST
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JOINT UN/UNESCO SEMINAR ON URBANIZATION IN THE ECAFE REGION

Jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs and the Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, in co-operation with the International Labour Office

8-18 August 1956
Bangkok, Thailand

Report on Item 3 (e) of the Agenda

PROBLEMS OF LABOUR STABILITY, THE LACK OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND PRODUCTIVITY

Prepared by Mr. P.S. Narasimhan (ILO)

1. Introducing the paper on the "Problems of Man-power and Productivity" prepared by the International Labour Office, the representative of the ILO stated that two broad conclusions had already emerged from the discussions on items (1) and (2) of the Agenda. The first of these was that in most ECAFE countries, until recently, towns had expanded faster and the exodus from the rural areas to the towns had been larger than warranted by the growth of economic opportunities in towns. Most of these workers who drifted into towns found jobs only in casual employment, i.e. service occupations and trades such as peddlers, rickshaw-pullers, domestic servants, bootblacks, etc. Thus unlike in the more advanced countries, in the ECAFE region, the larger proportion of the workers engaged in "turtiary" occupations in towns was an index not of economic progress but of stagnation.

/Secondly,

Secondly, whatever the future pattern of economic progress may be, there was little question that to reduce the excessive pressure on land, there had to be a steady expansion in the manufacturing industries. Not all the new and expanding industries need to be located in the big towns and there was in fact a good case for encouraging the growth not of a few giant cities, but of a number of medium-size towns scattered throughout the countries and serving the surrounding rural areas. But whatever the degree of decentralization aimed at in the location of industries, a measure of urbanization was inevitable. This gives rise to the problem of adopting the rural labour flowing into the towns both from the psychological and the technical points of view to the new methods of production in modern industrial establishments using modern techniques and producing for the market.

2. The ILO representative then reviewed briefly the factors which lead to the instability, the lack of skill, and the low levels of earnings of the workers entering the urban labour markets and the problems relating to the employment of women, young persons, and the children in urban areas. Outlining the short-term and the long-term remedial measures that might be taken, he gave examples of the ways in which the ILO was providing technical assistance to some of the countries in the region in developing machinery and techniques for providing continuing employment information; in promoting vocational training and apprenticeship schemes; and in developing productivity programmes suited to Asian countries and designed particularly to promote the application in the ECAFE countries of modern management and industrial engineering techniques and create a climate both among management and the workers favourable to further measures to raise productivity. He then commended to the Seminar the following conclusions:

(a) It is characteristic of workers who are abruptly transplanted from rural to urban areas, particularly if (as is frequently the case in the ECAFE region) the transition is from a more or less primitive subsistence economy to a technologically more advanced exchange economy, that they lack stability, that they have difficulty in themselves to urban conditions, that they have no training for or experience of industrial work, and that their productivity is very low.

/(b) The conditions

(b) The conditions in which they are housed, and the social services available in the towns, are usually very inadequate, and there is usually a surplus of unskilled labour in urban labour markets.

(c) Policy measures must take account as fully as possible of the characteristics and requirements of the male and female workers concerned, and of the special requirements of juveniles.

(d) Various measures in the field of manpower policy may contribute towards a solution of the problems of instability, lack of skill and low productivity. Short-term measures include arrangements for diffusing in rural areas accurate information concerning living and working conditions and employment prospects in the towns, and the provision of facilities for accelerated vocational training for workers who come to the towns. Longer-term measures include (i) expansion of the rural and urban school systems and a re-orientation of school curricula, with greater emphasis on practical vocational or pre-vocational training, so as to equip children better for the conditions which will confront them in urban labour markets; (ii) the development of vocational training facilities in urban centres; (iii) extension of the activities of employment services; and (iv) regulation of conditions of employment through the adoption and enforcement of appropriate social legislation.

(e) If urbanization is not to create new wants more rapidly than industrialization creates the means for satisfying them, it is imperative that urbanization should be accompanied by a rapid growth in industrial productivity and employment. Measures in the field of manpower policy therefore need to be devised and applied as integral parts of more general policies aiming at economic development and higher levels of productivity and employment.

/(f) There is

(f) There is considerable scope for improved utilization of resources in existing and newly developed industries in under-developed countries through the application of modern methods of management.

(g) Improved productivity can be made to contribute to capital formation and to the expansion of employment opportunities.

(h) Since higher productivity has a direct impact on and depends on the support of both labour and management, productivity programmes should, in the first stage, seek to secure their interest and support a common basis for mutually advantageous action.

(i) Secondly, productivity programmes should be instrumental in providing a broad range of educational and consulting services.

(j) Joint "Productivity Centres", with government support, can usefully serve as focal points for the organization and execution of productivity programmes.

3. This was followed by a lively discussion during which various points were clarified.

4. It was pointed out by the representative of ICFTU that while it was very largely true that the new rural labour migrating into the growing towns was unstable, there were a number of industrial towns in India where a permanently settled labour force already existed, e.g. the textile towns and the coal-mining towns. He pointed out that in these areas a new problem had in fact emerged. Because recent legislation in India obligated employers to provide certain extra benefits and bonuses to the permanent workers, the employers were reluctant to hire new workers, except on temporary basis. Again, the stability of the workers in the industrial centres can be promoted, as experience in India has clearly demonstrated, by the promotion of appropriate welfare facilities in the work places, e.g. canteens, etc. Also with reference to the point made in the ILO paper, that large numbers of young persons from rural areas

/entering towns

entering towns were frequently employed in domestic service where they were underpaid and over-worked, he enquired what special action, if any, the ILO had taken to protect workers in the domestic services. Subsequent discussion brought out the point that practical measures that could be taken to protect the domestic workers were under the study of the International Labour Office. However, the question of practical enforcement of such protective measures as might be taken was likely to be rather difficult because of the wide dispersion of the domestic workers. Also any solution to this problem was closely linked up with the expansion of school facilities in towns. When there were enough schools and teachers in towns to make possible the introduction of compulsory education for all young persons under the prescribed age limit, these persons would be automatically taken off the employment market.

5. The proposal that the curricula of the rural and the urban schools should be reoriented with greater emphasis on pre-vocational preparation, and elementary technical training so as to equip children better for the conditions which will confront them in the urban labour markets closely analyzed. It was generally agreed that such a reorientation was needed. In fact, in some countries such as India, where the government was trying to introduce in schools the system of basic education which will give pupils some elementary training in simple crafts, and in Pakistan, there were definite plans to introduce such a vocational bias. However, there were a number of practical problems for which a solution had still to be found. One of these was to pick out the basic technical trades and skills for which some preparatory training should be given and which will be useful not only in manufacturing industries, but also in agriculture. A second and more basic problem was the strong and widespread tendency of all persons who have been to schools of whatever type to look down upon all manual work. In fact, there had been cases where both parents and pupils had objected to the introduction of such a vocational bias in schools. Something had to be done in the ECAFE countries to promote mental attitudes which will attach as much value to manual skills as to intellectual

/attainments.

attainments. There was no question, however, that in the formulation of policies for dealing with the problems of towns and their proper development, the utilization of human resources by suitable training programmes, needs as much attention as the planning of the material resources such as the roads and the houses. These training programmes are divisible into three, namely, training for literacy, training for the skills needed for economic development, and training for vocations such as those of teachers, lawyers, engineers and doctors. Much more thought needed to be given than has been done hitherto to this problem of proper utilization of human resources in urban areas through suitable training programmes.

6. Considerable stress was also laid during the discussions on the important role the workers' organizations can play in adapting the incoming rural workers to employment in the industrial establishments in towns by appropriate workers' education programmes. The workers' organizations can also co-operate in the promotion of suitable training schemes for workers and ensure that the workers get the fullest benefits from such welfare facilities as are provided and such social legislation as has been enacted.

7. All speakers also warmly endorsed the suggestion that arrangements should be made for the continuous and systematic collection of information concerning living and working conditions in towns, the actual employment prospects, and the types of skills that were in demand, and to diffuse this information in the rural areas. The role which the employment services can play in developing and operating such continuous employment information programmes and the pilot projects in this field which the ILO is helping governments to develop in India and Indonesia were noted with interest. It was further suggested that it would be useful to develop side by side with such a continuous employment information programme suitable organizations for providing vocational guidance and counselling to the new entrants to towns.

/8. There was

8. There was also some exchange of views on the need to promote suitable housing as part of the programme to develop a stable and an efficient labour force in the urban areas. It was stated by one speaker that ILO action in this field had been quite slow and that one way of achieving a quick solution would be to make the larger industrial employers wholly responsible for providing decent housing to their workers. Replying to this, another participant stated that the problem of housing was a national one and had to be approached and solved on an overall national basis. Measures for financing had to be found which would neither discourage further investment in industry nor reduce the workers'freedom of movement. The whole question of what proportion of the total resources could be used for housing had to be reviewed and decided in the light of the overall priorities for utilizing the available scarce resources.

9. Other points which emerged during the discussions were the need for a clear understanding of the precise objectives of the productivity programmes and the importance of providing for urban workers new forms of social security to replace the more primitive arrangements in rural communities which, while never intended to deal with the risks and hazards of a modern economic life, do for the most part ensure that while there is food nobody starves. Unless some minimum provision at least was made to cover such major risks as the loss of income due to sickness and maternity and the temporary loss of employment, the rural worker in the town was bound to keep his tie with the rural areas and feel himself an alien in the town.

10. With these clarifications and comments the Seminar agreed to the conclusions set out in para 2 above.

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HUMAN AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION IN ASIA: THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION

[Item 3(a)]

Prepared by

J.D.N. Versluys (UNESCO)

When migrating to the city a villager enters a new society. From a homogeneous - though by no means always friendly - society, he is faced with an incomprehensible heterogeneity. It is the sort of experience the European may have when coming for the first time to an Asian city, only far more baffling. For the Western, capitalistic aspects of an individualistic, money making society which the European knows is the prevalent factor in the "dualistic" city, whereas the "Eastern", traditional aspect, although represented by a large majority of the inhabitants, is not very clearly visible, certainly not at first sight.

/The physical

The physical surroundings, the huge buildings, the crowded roads, the busy traffic, are astonishing. The tempo, the lack of personal interest, the money economy with its penny pinching attitudes, the incredible variety of goods in the shops - the majority of which he would not be able to nominate or to use - all this will make the villager ill at ease, if not afraid.

However, our villager knows somebody from his own village (this relationship is extremely important) who is living in this impossible place, and he goes there and clings to him. Indeed, in all the five studies prepared for UNESCO, we find this very important factor. In many cases the new-comer lives for months with his fellow villager, and perhaps longer, especially when the latter is a relative. We do not know very much about the process of acclimatization (as it might well be called), but gradually he knows a small sector of city life, his immediate surroundings, the place where he works, the people he meets every day. It will depend on his individual adaptive capacity how soon he will feel "at home", but there comes a time when he will meet another new-comer, and will realize how much he already knows as compared to the other man.

What has happened to him meanwhile? He has accustomed himself to a complete money economy; to a new kind of work; to working hours governed by the clock instead of by nature; even to the terror of night shifts; to a large number of impersonal human contacts; to different food and other meal hours; to continuous noise either of the factory, or of the traffic, or of the people living in the same crowded room. And to many more things. But most important, perhaps, is his total dependence on money which formerly played a minor role as he was living in largely a subsistence economy. This makes it of such a crucial importance to the migrant to find work, and it makes him realize the obvious sequence: no work - no money - no food. It may seem obvious, but for a very large number of village people, sheltered in the joint family, it is not. But it is certainly clear that the greatest anxiety of each migrant is to find work. This is the difference between the picture shown in the Delhi study and in the other reports which described migrants who had found work and income.

/The villager,

The villager, now accustomed to city life, may take regularly a cup of tea or a drink and have learned to smoke a cigarette instead of the traditional hookah[1] or kretek[2] and to enjoy the cinema. But he will miss his family and the gossip of his village and his quiet work in the fields. And he is starting to build up an idealized village, that, for years to come, will probably be the image in his mind of a far from ideal place which he had to leave because of sheer poverty and distress.

If asked if he likes his new way of life, he will most probably emphatically deny it, pointing at the bad housing conditions and the unhealthy surroundings, adding however, that he cannot go back. Meanwhile, he may have spent a couple of years in the city and will certainly have visited his village at least once every year; if he left his family behind he will probably have found some place where to live - inferior, to be sure, to his old place, but enabling him at least to let his family join him. In fact, he has become a city dweller and will probably stay so. However, he still is convinced that he will go back to his village, next year or so, wherever he has saved enough money to buy some land. But his children are going to school, and the schools here are really better than back home, so he stays on. And then, his sons start earning and the family income grows to much that it would be a pity to go back just now. Most probably he will never go back, or, perhaps, when he has become too old to work in the factory and retires to his village to supervise the cultivation by a tenant of the small plot of land that he has been able to buy. But his children have become real city folks. And the returned migrant may become a spearhead of innovations in his village, as it was reported from Java particularly with respect to ex-service men.

This might be the picture of a successful migration as described in some of the five studies recently published by UNESCO. It is not the picture of the type of migrant described in the Delhi study, nor does it render the situation of the temporary migrant who comes to Bangkok for some months only.

/How far

1/ Waterpipe (Pakistan and North India).
2/ Cigarette wrapped in maize leaf (Java).

How far does the city affect the migrant's beliefs and habits? It is clear that his working habits have changed very much, his ideas of time is different now; he has learned to the quite novel distinction between "work" and "leisure"; he is accustomed to a rigid discipline of work although he may not like it; he wears different cloths, has acquainted himself with the use of a number of things which he did not know before, particularly food and beverages and Western medicine (although he will not forget his native talisman altogether), and he cannot help finding his village people rather old-fashioned and backward, a little coarse and ridiculous actually (but the village people laugh at his "refined" speech and manners); his way of thinking is "modern" now and he says that he is broad-minded as regards matters of caste or other social differentiations. Nevertheless, he will see to it that his daughter marries a young man of no inferior caste than his own. In fact, in many cases we may find that his professed attitudes and his actual behaviour do not quite coincide. Often he will have climbed a few ranks on the social ladder, and may rationalize his actually conservative behaviour from that angle.

From the Dacca and the Bangkok study it became clear that his religious duties were carried out faithfully, perhaps more so in the city than in the village. The social control in the village does not seem to be stronger as regards this matter, than that of the "Prayer Committees" operating in the Dacca factories. In Bangkok we find that the beautiful temples greatly appeal to the migrants and from Bombay it is reported that, although there may be a shift in the groups of practising and non-practising Hindus, the total number of those who follow religious practices has not decreased. In the Delhi study where a very unfavourable economic situation is described which prevents the larger part of the migrants to find a more or less permanent job, a direct correlation between economic distress, social disintegration and loss of religious practices came clearly out of the study. -- The author of the Djakarta study also had the impression that religion did not suffer.

/When the

When the migration succeeds it is found that new social connections are formed, thus replacing the organic links of the village community. This point is especially stressed in Mr Heeren's paper (URB/8) where he says that "social control in the city does not differ much from that in the rural ones". In general, his description of Djakarta city life gives the impression not of life in a city but in an agglomeration of villages, each with its own character, each also physically showing far more the village features than the city aspect. The kampongs in Djakarta with their trees and flowers are certainly more friendly places than the slums of Bombay or Calcutta although it cannot be denied that there are slums in Djakarta as well. However, the kampongs as described by Heeren do not form the heart of the city. That is the area of the Chinese shop keepers and Western business, and here is no space for trees or flowers. But as the rural migrant will have little contact with these groups, they will not affect his way of thinking.

Therefore, it seems certain that the Djakarta pattern is extremely helpful to the harmonious integration of migrants as the difference between village and city is mostly material, little spiritual. Moreover, a relatively small part of them were farmers, and some of them came from other towns. The societies for mutual aid, money saving etc. also certainly help to bring about a feeling of belonging which may be looked for in vain in other cities. It is probably a typical Javanese characteristic, as it was found that a number of such societies had also been formed in Makassar where their purpose was that of a funeral fund, sometimes combined with dramatical performances.

Similar efforts to social cohesion are reported in the Dacca study where the Prayer Committees seem to exercice a strong social control, whereas in Bangkok only informal groups seem to exist. Nevertheless, such groups are extremely important, and the individual can rely upon his group, may borrow money without interest and find, in general, support in the

/ struggle

struggle for life. Such groups are not mentioned in the Bombay report, but it stresses the importance of the villager's first contact man in the city. Both studies emphasize the need for expenditure on tobacco, tea, drinks and recreation as a means to overcome strains. One of the samlor drivers in Bangkok remarks that he does not have all this when he is back home, but does not seem to miss it very much. One might believe that this typical "city consumption" is connected with a certain lack of steadiness in social relationship.

The less the social cohesion is, the more easily the individual is induced to doing things which he would not have done in his normal social surroundings. However, this aspect of urbanization will be discussed later.

When we discussed some forms of self-help and social cohesion, it was already pointed out that this seemed to be most strongly developed in Djakarta. It is understandable, therefore, that Mr Heeren's paper also most clearly points to typical features of city organizations which have little to do with the officially elected municipal council. The neighbourhood organization covering a part of a kampong was always useful to watch against thieves and fire, and it provided a certain unit which facilitated the general administration. However, it could not easily be called a unit of self-government. But it is interesting to note that membership of this organization has now become compulsory and that it also serves as an intermediary between the lurah, the lowest city official, and the population. No such forms of city organization are mentioned in respect of the other cities here discussed, although they might well exist.

As regards the migrants from the higher social strata, it was remarked that their situation was really different. In the first place the white collar worker who finds no suitable place in the village will not experience the same hospitality in the city as the uneducated labourer will

/ receive.

receive. For him the city is more like the Western type: he does not know the man of the flat next doors, and he does not make an effort to get acquainted. But once he is established in the city it may affect him more profoundly. He will more intensively feel the impact of the city as the meeting place of different cultures and religions, and he will easily develop attitude of relativism. This explains the decline in interest in religion as reported by the representatives from India and Pakistan as regards the educated classes where the break-up of the joint family progresses quickly and traditions of centuries are given up by the younger generation. But this "city influence" and its effect of "sophistication" is not very strong on the lower strata of society in Asian cities as their cross-cultural contacts are very limited.

However, the city also brings about new movements which may well have a religious character, as they may also be of a general cultural nature. The revival of Buddhism in Japanese cities can be quoted in this context. This creative element in city life - although it is not always certain whether it is a new fashion or a serious cultural renewal - should always be remembered, even if one has to admit that the city is also the only place where mob rule and dictatorship can develop. As it was put by one of the participants, the city attracts both the best and the worst in the country; there is little place in the village for either the big cheater or the great genius.

However, the migrants to cities in Asia generally are neither cheaters nor geniuses. Moreover, they are only seldom attracted to the city, although it may happen, as was reported from Thailand, that demobilized soldiers prefer town life whose amenities they have learnt to prefer to the arduous tasks of the farmer. But the large majority of the migrants are pushed to the city by poverty in the village, lack of land, or debts. They do not go to the city because they think it an attractive place.

/ In conclusion

In conclusion we might say that, although the strain on the individual labourer who comes alone from the countryside to the city is certainly heavy, there are either informal groups or more or less institutionalized organizations where he can find the social connections which can replace the organic social structure of his village. It is not probable that the factory worker will have intensive contacts with the more sophisticated, Westernized part of the population, and his beliefs and religious thinking will therefore mostly not change fundamentally. It is practically certain that his first contact in the city will be a kinsman or some fellow villager who will make it easier for him to find his way in the city. After the first overwhelming impressions of city life and factory noise he may find out that not everything and everybody in hostile, although it will take him a long time to feel at home. However, individual experience will vary greatly, and the cities have each their special features which makes it hard to draw general conclusions. But it is certain that very much will depend on the question whether or not he succeeds in securing a regular income, far more than in the village.

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SUMMARY REPORT

Item 1. Urbanization in Asia and the Far East - Situation and trends: Definition and classification of the concepts and problems or urbanization.

The General Rapporteur, Mr. Philip M. Hauser, presented a brief statement designed as an introduction to the Seminar on Urbanization in its economic and social aspects as background for consideration of problems of urbanization in the ECAFE region.

The city or urban agglomeration was pointed out as a relatively recent phenomenon. Chronologically speaking, man has inhabited the earth for some half million to one million years. But even villages or towns did not exist until after the neolithic revolution. It was only some 8 to 10,000 years ago that separate permanent settlements became important forms of human habitation. Both the city and problems of urbanization, then, are relatively new problems with which man has been

/only recently

only recently confronted; and which have emerged because of man's activities in transforming the world in which he lives.

The word "city" is generally identified as both antecedent and consequent of modern western civilization. Actually more people live in large cities in Asia than in Europe and North America. In 1950, out of an estimated total of 886 cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants, Asia had 289, Europe 261, and North America 116. The cities with 100,000 or more throughout the world contained an estimated 314 million inhabitants. Of these 106 million, about two-thirds lived in Asia, 83 million or about one-fourth lived in Europe, and 48 million or about one-seventh lived in North America.

It is possible at least approximately to measure the growth of cities on global basis since 1800. Since that date, while the population of the world has increased 2½ times, the population resident in cities of 5 thousand or more persons has multiplied about 30 times; the population resident in cities of 100 thousand or more has increased about twentyfold. For the world as a whole, the rate of increase in population in cities of 100,000 was by 76 per cent between 1800 and 1900; 222 per cent between 1850 and 1900; 254 per cent between 1900 and 1950. During the 19th century, the increase in large city population was more rapid in Europe and in North America than in Asia. During the first half of this century, however, the increase in large city population has been much more rapid in Asia than in Europe or North America. It is the great increase in Asian large city population, a 450 per cent increase during the first half of this century, that has maintained the rapid increase of the world urban population. City population in Europe and in North America has not been increasing as rapidly as in Asia during this century because the population of the more economically developed areas had already become largely urbanized.

/It was

It was proposed to use the term "urbanization" in accordance with Professor Kingsley Davis' usage to refer to the proportion of the population of an area which lives in cities.

Although Asia has more large cities and more people living in them than Europe or North America, Asia is less urbanized than any of the continents other than Africa. In 1950, about 13 per cent of Asia's population lived in cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants, as compared with 9 per cent in Africa. In contrast, 35 per cent of the population in Europe (excluding the USSR) and 42 per cent of the population in North America (North of the Rio Grande) lived in cities of this size. In Oceania, 47 per cent of the population was urbanized by this criterion. The percentage of other world areas urbanized were as follows: USSR, 31 per cent; South America, 26; Central America and the Caribbean, 21 per cent.

The city as a form of economic and social organization is related to the level of technology and economic development. The size and character of population agglomerations, small or large, ranging from villages and towns to cities and metropolitan areas are functions of the economic and social organization of a society, including both agricultural and non-agricultural productivity; the extent of the division of labour, including territorial specialization; transport and communication; and the political and social structure.

Prior to about 3,000 B.C., most population agglomerations were relatively small and are, perhaps, appropriately designated as villages or towns. Agglomerations large enough to merit the term "city" probably did not appear until after this date. Cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants certainly did not exist prior to the Greco-Roman period. The metropolis of a million or more persons appeared only after the industrial revolution.

Gras, in his account of economic history, has perhaps the most comprehensive treatment of the relationship between economic development and settlement or habitation patterns. Using historical materials on ways of making a living and technology on the one hand, and forms of human settlement or community on the other hand, Gras has related the two in a classification

/which intertwines

which intertwines both. In his account of the historical development of civilization, 5 stages or periods are differentiated as follows: (1) collectioml economy, (2) cultural nomadic economy, (3) the settled village economy, (4) the town economy and (5) the metropolitan economy.

In many of the ECAFE countries, all of these forms of economic organization and human settlement co-exist. Lampard, following Childe's classification, distinguishes 3 phases of city development which are perhaps more relevant to the contemporary scene. These are the pre-industrial, industrial and metropolitan urban agglomerations. The pre-industrial cities, which in the Western world existed up to about 19th century, are best described perhaps as a loose-knit system of food economies with some inter-regional commerce but no marked territorial division of labour. The industrial city was a product of the industrial revolution emerging during the 19th century. It was characterized by marked territorial division of labour, and centripetal development generated by steam power and belt and pulley technology. Metropolitan urban centres were products of 20th century technology. The centripetal force of the steam engine gave way to the centrifugal force of electric power, the automobile and telephone. Morever, differentiation of function and territorial division of labour were intensified; large proportions of the population were drawn to urban centres; but, within the urban centre, population became increasingly decentralized as a result of the impact of a combination of centrifugal forces.

The development of the cities in the West resulted largely from the market mechanism. There was no or little central planning. The play of the market determined the division of labour, territorial specialization, the allocation of resources, the spatial pattern of cities, and ecological interdependence. It is important to stress this fact because it was not necessary for the Western world to understand tomatrix of factors which accounted for either economic development or urbanization. The market mechanism operated to produce both economic development and the urbanization of the West without the need for statesmen, businessmen or scholars to understand either the process or the results. It is important to understand this fact because in the ECAFE region in which economic development necessarily involves a large amount of central planning, it is necessary to have such knowledge as a basis for determination of policy and its implementation. In fact, the need for knowledge about the relationship between economic development, industrialization, and urbanization constitutes a major justification for this Seminar.

/The development

The development of large cities and urbanization briefly described above in over-simplified terms had important social consequences. Changes in technology and economic organization produced great changes in the cultural aspects of Western social institutions including the family, in value systems, and in personal forms of thought and conduct. The sociological and anthropological literature makes clear the nature of these changes. Tonnies differentiation of "community" and "society" has called attention to the dual aspect of human agglomerations. The "community" aspect refers to the inter-dependence created by the mechanism of competition which produces the spatial and economic base of the human group. The "society" aspect refers to the organization which is achieved through communication through the emergence of consensus and a common culture.1/

The process of competition is impersonal , unconscious, utilitarian and involves no social contact. The process of communication is a process of social interaction. It is personal, conscious, necessitates social contact and invokes sympathy, reciprocity, appreciation and sentiment.

The pre-industrial agglomeration is in a larger measure "society" rather than "community". The city is in a larger measure "community" than "society". This distinction provides an important insight into the impact of the city on human modes of thought and contact.

"Urbanism as a way of life" has perhaps best been described by the late Prof. Lewis Wirth. In his classic article under this title, Wirth has indicated the way in which such abstract aspects of the city as size, density and heterogeneity of population have influenced the nature, frequency and intensity of social contact, and therefore the nature of personal development and of human nature itself. In the urban environment, the nature of man has been changed by changes in the mechanism and process of social interaction,

/as well as

1/ These concepts are presented as in American usage. The terms "community" and "society" are used in reverse of the literal translation of Tonnies, "Gemainschaft" and "Gesellschaft"

as well as by changes in the culture and social heritage. The "city mentality" described by Park has been characterized by sophistication, objectivity, utilitarianism and rationalism and is, on the one hand, the product of the urban environment and, on the other hand, a major force producing and influencing changes in the social heritage, in economic, social and political institutions and in the urban environment itself.

It is within this framework that the changes in social institutions, including the family and the church, in the social structure, and in value systems, can be understood. In the process of social change produced by the emergence of the city, social and personal disorganisation are significant by-products. Social disorganization is a stage in the process of social change. It is an intermediate stage between social organization and social reorganization. Personal disorganization is viewed by the sociologist as the subjective aspect of social disorganisation. The many personal problems in the city - delinquency, crime, poverty, unemployment, immorality, alcoholism, suicide, neurosis are symptoms of social change manifest in the person. The understanding of problems of social and personal disorganization is an important pre-requisite to the determination of policy and administrative action designed to eliminate or to ameliorate these problems.

The emergence of large cities has also created many physical problems - problems of land use and circulation. The slum, poor housing, and congestion are perhaps the most acute of the physical problems associated with urbanization which call for attention.

In the materials set forth above, an effort has been made briefly to summarize the experience in respect of urbanization of the more economically developed areas in the West. Many of these materials can be quite helpful to countries in the ECAFE region which are attempting economic development through industrialization. Success in industrialization is likely to increase the urbanization of the population. It is not possible, however, to assume that the experience of the West is a safe basis for anticipating problems of urbanization in ECAFE countries.

/There are

There are many reasons to assume that urbanization in Asia may involve quite different patterns of development and inter-relationships with economic development than those observed in the West. These reasons include differences between the situation at the present time, when Asia is attempting to accelerate economic development and especially industrialization, and the situation one or two centuries ago when the European and American nations experienced the industrial revolution.

Among these differences are: basic differences arising from the fact that present urban development in Asia is largely an outgrowth of a century or more of colonialism, and in large measure, reflects the troubled conditions of post-war adjustment and newly won independence; differences in the extent to which central planning and government interventionism, as contrasted with the free market economy, may be expected to operate in Asian economic development; differences in the state of industrial and agricultural technology in the 20th, as contrasted with the 18th and 19th centuries; differences in the ratio of population to resources and the availability of open lands for surplus population emigration; differences in basic outlook and value systems between Asia and the West; and significant differences in the total world situation - economic, social and political, at the present time as contrasted with the 18th and 19th centuries.

Despite the fact that there are apt to be many differences in the patterns of Asian urbanization, as contrasted with those that occurred in the West, the Western experience nevertheless provides some basis for Asian nations to anticipate many social and personal problems arising from the urban environment. It may be anticipated, for example, that the urban environment in Asia as in the West will produce cultural changes which will be reflected in changes in personal thought and conduct. The large family system has already undergone changes in Asian cities. As the process of urbanism continues and Asian cities take on more of the characteristics of Western cities in respect of heterogeneity, frequency and intensity of social contact, changes may be expected in value systems, in religious practices and beliefs, in personal relationships, in social stratification including classes and castes,

/in consumption

in consumption patterns, in education etc. As a by-product of these and many other social changes, it may also be anticipated there will be many social frictions evident in forms of social and personal disorganization. It may be anticipated that in the vortex of social change there will be an increased tendency towards juvenile delinquency and crime, family disorganization, vice, alcoholism, suicide and neurosis. Moreover, it may be anticipated that there will be many physical problems, perhaps compounding the present heritage of congestion, poor housing, slum conditions, traffic problems, problems of providing for adequate facilities for sanitation, recreation and education. There will also be, of course, the even more basic problem of providing for adequate economic development and productivity, so as to enable increasing urban populations to attain higher levels of living and to eliminate the basic problem that confronts most Asian cities today, namely, mass poverty.

The transition of agricultural Asian nations to greater degrees of urbanization will inevitably produce many problems of the type enumerated above. But it must be emphasized that the total impact of the city is far from a negative one. After all, it is the city which has paved the way for the great achievements of Western civilization in technology, in productivity and in levels of living, on the one hand; and, also, in the arts and sciences, in the growth of universities, the development of the sciences, the creation of new art forms and, in general, in the great intellectual, scientific and aesthetic aspects of Western civilization.

Needless to say, the city may be expected to play a similar role in the further development of Asian culture. It is not to be expected that this development will necessarily take the same forms as in the West. What may be anticipated will be further development of the basic elements in present indigenous Asian, intellectual, philosophical and esthetic cultural tracts, in addition to technological and scientific developments.

The introductory statement was followed by general discussion in which participants from the various countries represented at the Seminar presented materials relating to their respective countries. These materials are in the main set forth in the individual country reports. In summary, however, the discussion brought forth the following conclusions:

1. Countries in Asian are in the main **over-urbanized in relation to** their present state of economic development.

   At the present time, there is a larger urban population in most Asian nations than is justified by present levels of agricultural and non-agricultural productivity. The urban populations of Asia have not grown in response to economic need for large urban population concentrations, i.e., from "pull" factors represented by industrial, commercial and service developments, but rather from "push" factors such as those indicated below.

2. Most Asian nations are characterized by the presence of a "primate" or great city many times, some 5 to 10 times the size of the second city, in contrast with the situation in the West which is characterized by "systems" of cities.

   The great city is the product in the main of economic development oriented essentially to one or more external economies, rather than the result of indigenous economic development. For most Asian cities, this external orientation was a product of colonialism which produced the great city as a link between the colony and the mother country. In some cases, the great city has the same character serving as a link between the local elite and the outside world, rather than being an economic outgrowth of the indigenous national economy.

3. The growth of cities in Asia including that of the primate or great cities was the result of the following types of factors:

   (a) The low land-population ratio arising from rapid population growth in relation to agricultural resources. People left rural areas, in brief, because there was no way of procuring a livelihood on already over-populated land.

   (b) The disruption and disorganisation produced by the last war, and bitter struggles in some countries for independence. Many of the cities of Asia are choked with refugees who have swelled urban population out of proportion to their economic development.

   (c) The lure of urban existence to which large parts of the peasant population was exposed as the result of military service as well as migratory refugee flows.

   (d) The actual exhaustion of natural resources in some areas which deprived some locales of their economic base.

   (e) Seasonality of employment in agriculture which creates migratory flows exposing many people to the attraction of city life.

/4. The primate

4. The primate or great city may have a paralytic effect on the development of other urban places and tends to be parasitic in relation to the remainder of the national economy. The fact that the great cities already exist, creates the tendency further to centralize industrial, commercial and service developments in them. Such a tendency may detract from the growth potential of other cities and may produce further concentration in the great city at the expense of the rest of the national economy.

5. Asian cities, in contrast with the Western cities, often tend to be an agglomeration of villages.

The Asian city in general tends to be characterized by the co-existence of two distinctive sub-areas: (i) the Western type area, and (ii) the "native" area consisting of an agglomeration of villages. In consequence, although a rather small elite indigenous population appears in Asian cities with the same characteristic as these possessed by urban residents in the West, the mass population of the Asian cities resident in the village agglomerations tend to retain "folk" characteristics. The characteristics of the urban resident, identified with such dichotomies or continued as the "folk-urban","rural-urban" or "community-society" categories, do not hold for the mass of residents of Asian cities. In respect of this conceptual framework, the Asian city is in large measure not yet "urbanized".

6. The cities in Asia which are now in process of rapid growth, outdistancing the rate of economic development, are faced with many social and physical problems. The fundamental problem is that of low level of living, reflecting low national productivity. The symptoms of this malady are inadequate housing, the almost complete absence of sanitary facilities for the mass indigenous population, the presence of filth, squalor, repugnant odors, disease and high mortality. Moreover, the city populations of Asia are still characterized by mass illiteracy and have little or no access to educational, recreational or medical facilities.

/7. Asian

7. Asian nations are faced with the difficult choice of allocating their limited resources toward the elimination or amelioration of the problems outlined above or in investment in productive enterprises with a view towards long-run social gains. It would obviously be unsound disproportionately to use limited resources to eliminate present evils at the expense of failing to increase national productivity and thus dooming the population to continued low levels of living. On the other hand, it is difficult to resist the appeal for social investment represented by the dire needs of the mass population. Some investment of social capital may, in fact, be regarded as essential to increased productivity. For example investments in education and certain minimum standards of sanitation and housing may be pre-requisites to increasing labour productivity.

8. Most Asian nations are acutely aware of their present and impending urban problems and many have specific agencies organized to study and to deal with them. Planning agencies, welfare agencies, health agencies, insurance schemes, social legislation and other devices are being employed in an effort to ameliorate the more difficult problems.

9. Efforts are being made by some Asian nations to decelerate the rate of urbanization or even to induce swelled urban population to return to rural areas. Programmes designed to achieve these objectives include (a) efforts to increase agricultural productivity, (b) efforts to make village life more attractive, (c) the stimulation of cottage industries, (d) the decentralisation of new industrial development, (e) resettlement programmes including the opening of new agricultural lands, irrigation, etc. and (f) general national and regional planning.